various visitors. Additionally, preservation techniques have altered the sites' 'authenticity' by limiting any change of the petroglyphs and pictographs within its boundaries; change in the rock art at Writing-On-Stone was expected, used by the Blackfoot to predict the future. Through preservation, the sites become museumified, untouchable, distanced from people and communication with guardian spirits, and with shamans. The reasons, whether sacred, personal, or secular, for adding to the collections of petroglyphs and pictographs, is ended. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park has been able to prosper even without relying on stereotypes of 'primitivism' and 'exoticism,' describing a more balanced scene of natural, aboriginal and Euro-Canadian history. Additionally, park administrators have recognised the importance of traditional, aboriginal interpretation and have recently begun working directly with members of the Blackfoot band, and have been able to adapt to recent political changes in the relationship towards First Nations peoples and deconstruct the traditions of 'Indianness' and colonial control over aboriginal heritage sites.
ENDNOTES

1 Lowenthal, 335.


3 MacCannell, 94.

4 Kenneth Hudson, "How Misleading Does and Ethnographical Museum Have to Be?" in Exhibiting Cultures, 463-64.

5 ibid., 459.


9 Ames, 11.

10 Houlihan, 207.

11 Tilden, 13.

12 Ames, 12.

13 Tilden, 29.

14 ibid., 69.


17 ibid., 64.


21 Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism," in Exhibiting Cultures, 7-8.

22 Crew and Sims, 163.


27 A Forces Beyond Production, Mysterious Forces Beyond (Vancouver: Western International Communications Ltd., through ITV, 1995).


29 ibid., 60.

30 Lowenthal, 269.

31 Jack Brink, "Rock Art Sites in Alberta: Retrospect and Prospect," in Alberta Archaeology, 79.


33 "Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet, 4.

34 ibid., 7.


36 ibid.

37 Dempsey, 42.


39 ibid.

40 ibid.

41 Corner, 4; Keyser, Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau, 34; Chris Arnett, "The

42"Rock Art" pamphlet.

43Dempsey, 25.

44ibid., 26.

45Klassen, 11.

46Dempsey, 26.


48Zenon Pohorecky, "Rock Art Site Management: Case Studies from Saskatchewan," in CRARA, 271.

49Klassen, iii.


51ibid.

52ibid.

53ibid.

54Clifford, 226; George W. Stocking, "Essays on Museums and Material Culture," in Objects and Others, 4-6.


57MacCannell, 121.


59"Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet.

60ibid.

61Mathieson and Wall, 97.

62ibid., 101.
63 Lowenthal, 275.
64 Ibid., 276.
66 Joan and Roman Vastokas, 36. Clottes (28-29) also has declared that petroglyph and pictograph sites are indicative of the numerous tiers of the "shamanic cosmos," consisting of "the plane of everyday life, a realm above," inhabited by the spirits, "and a realm below," for the spirit-animals.
67 Mathieson and Wall, 24.
69 Rebecca Blair, interviewed by the author, Creston, British Columbia, November 27, 1996.
73 Mathieson and Wall, 119; see also Susan Stewart, who states that the important part of a souvenir is not the material aspect, but the narrative which accompanies it: On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 135. See also Mary Littrell, Luella Anderson, and Pamela Brown, who state that souvenirs "serve as tangible evidence of having found the authentic and as reminders of activities not part of the tourists' daily routines at home," and since they are "acquired during the special conditions of travel [they] often become among the most valued possessions of individuals." Mary Ann Littrell, Luella F. Anderson and Pamela J. Brown, "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?" Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 198.
74 F. Rajotte, "The Different Travel Patterns and Spatial Framework of Recreation and Tourism," in Tourism as a Factor in National and Regional Development (Peterborough, Ontario: Occasional Paper 4, Department of Geography, Trent University, 1975), 45.
76 Ibid., 19.
77 Ibid., 14.
78 Ibid., 29.

80Albert Bickmore to Heber R. Bishop, May 28, 1880; Bishop to Bickmore, November 27, 1880; Bickmore to Major John Wesley Powell, October 11 and 14, 1880, archives, American Museum of Natural History, quoted in Cole, Capture Heritage, 82-83.


82Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," 16; if the souvenirs are manufactured by the aboriginal peoples themselves, omissions may serve to relieve any cultural taboos with representation.

83Brody, 71-71.

84Clifford, 222.

Conclusion

The history of Canada since Confederation has been one of domination over aboriginal peoples, largely due to an increased need for land. Colonists have taken the image of First Nations peoples and commodified it for profit, for patriotism and expansion, for scientific discourse, and in tourism. Images of 'Indianness' have been prevalent in tourism, which tends to simplify and decontextualise aboriginal cultures for profit. Some of these images and stereotypes have been examined in this thesis, and by taking a specific discipline, rock art research, and a particular location, Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in Alberta, I have considered their role in the contemporary environment.

The image of 'Indianness' in Canada, as explored in Chapter One, was the direct result of colonialism. Europeans arriving for settlement required a method for dealing with the Amerindian peoples who had inhabited the lands for a substantial length of time, with their own histories and a far more intimate knowledge of the land. The European immigrants were confronted by peoples who, in their opinions, looked like 'savages': dressed in animal skins, armed with spears and/or bows and arrows, and living, compared to Europeans, a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. The differences in clothing, architecture, and other material goods, which a majority of newcomers viewed as lacking elegance and refinement, meant 'the Indian' was positioned as Other to the aristocratic European; he existed on a lower plane of civilisation, a plane through which the European had already passed. According to historian Peter Reitbergen, these 'luxuries' of Western culture indicated a superior civilisation, and were used by affluent settlers to justify their conquering and appropriation of other cultures through their biased self-worth:
Money is power. As Europe became richer, the size of armies which rulers sent into battle and the fleets which sailed the seas also increased; more and more areas outside Europe were actively made to submit to European states. Power leads to a sense of superiority. Travelling Europeans observed that they were stronger than others, 'better' than Asians, Africans and Americans.¹

The reason for their monetary success "was simple...it was because Europeans were Christians, supported by the one, true God."² This belief justified the domination of indigenous peoples, 'primitives,' who, because of decreasing populations from European diseases and laws constructed in the nineteenth century directed against First Nations, became vulnerable at the hands of the Canadian federal government and its attempts to educate and assimilate First Peoples into 'civilisation.'

'The Indian,' an image of unindustriousness, immorality, and heathenism, played an essential role in the newly founded nation. Native people, as presented in Chapter One, were considered part of nature. And nature, to the Western perspective, meant uncertainty, unpredictability, something to be controlled. According to the late historian Paula Giese, Western civilisation for centuries saw nature as "evil": "their idea was to dominate, tame, subdue and if possible eradicate all that was wild and 'savage' in it," including the "inconvenient aboriginal people."³ Despite the fact that the survival of early explorers and settlers was dependent on First Nations peoples and their knowledge of the land, the post-Confederation federal government, once firmly established, now considered Native people to be in need of services to adjust to becoming a good Canadian citizen, like the European. The intention of this tactic was twofold: if First Nations people were assimilated into Western society, then the lands on which they lived would truly become part of Canadian territory; as well, by removing ownership rights from indigenous peoples, it would extend Canada's history back to 'time immemorial,' and provide, as Tony Bennett argues, an
extensive narrative for the nation to rival the histories of European countries. In order to cement the idea that Euro-Canadians had a right to aboriginal materials and lands, the unjust colonial practices of residential schools and bans on indigenous traditions were 'forgotten' by non-Native Canadians attempting to feel comfortable in their new home, a necessary device, according to Ernest Renan, for a nation to forge a positive identity for itself. According to Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, the "settler colony culture" of "forgetting" acted as a way to balance the dilemma immigrants faced as newcomers to a land, where, while differentiating their new nation by appropriating the imagery of the marginalised populations, did not want to be reminded "of their own problematic occupation of the country." 'Indianness' worked partly because these representations created by the government had no contradictory images for Euro-Canadians. Living on reserves, First Nations were not allowed to own land, were under observation from government appointed Indian Agents, whose written permission was required in order to legally leave the reserves. It was only in 1960 that all aboriginal peoples were permitted to vote in federal elections; until then, the vote was only granted to anyone whom the government considered enfranchised.

Because Canada, as a new nation, required its own identity, colonial governments, after 'subduing' the First Nations with the reserve system, and 'forgetting' the impact of diseases which decimated their populations, appropriated 'the Indian' as a national symbol. Chapter One outlined how the cultural products of marginalised groups were appropriated, and were recontextualised by the government as 'arts.' As Susan Hiller has claimed, this was typical of new nation-states, which "seek to promote a national art, as a required expression of national self-consciousness." However, the artistic materials of aboriginal peoples tended to be denied the same status as European
arts; they were placed in anthropological museums, which continued the stereotype of 'the Indian' as part of natural history, placed along animals and geological findings. Natural history museums and scientific research helped establish the definition of 'primitivism.' Annie E. Coombes has noted that to many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnologists and anthropologists, aboriginal peoples tended to share similar 'primitive' characteristics. As Others, indigenous cultures were deemed not as 'advanced' as European. Coombes continues that

this argument was based on the evolutionary premise that these societies existed in a timeless vacuum, and when they did change in any way, such change was much slower than in a more "sophisticated," and by this was meant European, society.10 This application of meaning worked to further subvert the indigenous communities, partly within the realm of the museum. As indicated in Chapter One, the museum was used as a tool to unite the population and provide it with an identity, as well as serve an educational role. Historically, within museum practices, however, aboriginal cultures have been marginalised; First Nations peoples have been regarded 'as remnants of the past,' as no longer 'authentic' as 'Indian' in the present. This type of consideration, according to Marian Bredin, signifies that those in charge can "avoid having to deal with them as historical and political equals."11 Many museums have maintained control over what constitutes art and anthropology, placing Native arts in the latter category, solely as documentary rather than aesthetic. Contemporary First Nations artists such as Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash-Poitras, Carl Beam, Faye Heavyshield and Robert Davidson have defied the continuing practice of relegating contemporary First Nations art to ethnographic and anthropological museums. Many artists have refused to be defined by museum administrators as 'primitives' simply because they use the symbols and art forms of earlier periods, which has
encouraged a transition in museum policy to abandon, or at least reduce, outdated and racist theories of what constitutes art versus artifact.

Chapter Two focused on the way images of 'Indianness' created by colonialism not only became accepted by the general public in North America, but entered into 'scientific' research. Because of the role of the museum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as 'educator' for the masses, the images of aboriginal cultures as 'inferior' to Western civilisation, and indeed not part of 'civilisation' at all, became prevalent. Deirdre Evans Pritchard has argued that the use of stereotypes and the dehumanisation of aboriginal peoples occurred because, when faced with the 'strange' and unknown, people tend to "draw on their own preconceptions and limited experiences."12 Researchers, believing in the stereotypes and categorisations of 'the Indian' as a 'natural object,' set out to 'prove' their conclusions, with little concern for the repercussions on the people they studied. According to Jean Clottes, "theories are not born in a conceptual void. They are influenced by the major trends of thought in any given time."13 Chapter Two outlined how many anthropologists over the last century sought out the well-known characteristics of 'Indianness,' of 'primitiveness,' often overlooking evidence which would contradict their conclusions, and therefore believed they were recording an accurate image.

During the initial period of rock art research, untrained and/or less diligent amateurs conducted a majority of the initial studies. Even as late as 1977, Canadian rock art researcher Tim Jones stated that rock art had still not entered 'serious' scholarship. Research continued to be "essentially part-time work," in the hands of but a few specialists, despite increasing interest in rock art.14 At Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in Alberta, P.S. Barry's research methods have been criticised as lacking 'professional' standards. Shortcomings, according to Michael Klassen, have included certain panels being incompletely recorded,
figures "selectively reproduced or taken out of context," and the deletion of "ambiguous" marks. Her methods may be inadequate because Barry seems to have reached her conclusions on the meaning of the rock art of Writing-On-Stone before undertaking her research, and may have sought out characteristics to demonstrate her shamanic interpretations of the area. With a lack of professional guidance in rock art research during its first century, the discipline became even more rejected by professionals in later years, because of the implications of inappropriate methods of research.

When professionals did enter into researching rock art, as well as other aboriginal cultural objects, Western prejudices predominated numerous studies. Characteristics of 'authentic' 'Indian' traditions were ingrained in the psyche of the researcher and reader. As with Barry's study, conclusions were often reached before research was begun, and appropriate 'primitive' data was sought to support them. Non-native researchers were automatically at a disadvantage because, as Roy Wagner has argued, subjectivity in research is impossible to overcome:

> the set of cultural predispositions that an outsider brings with him...makes all the difference in his understanding of what is "there"....people have all sorts of predispositions and biases, and the notion of culture as an objective, inflexible entity can only be useful as a sort of "prop" to aid the [researcher] in his invention.16

As presented in Chapter Two, these inventions have meant that anthropologists since the late 1800s have not been trusted by many indigenous peoples. Similar to museum classification systems designating aboriginals as part of 'natural' history, the results of many research projects have dehumanised indigenous peoples. For example, during the 1988 Te Maori exhibition in New Zealand, which chronicled Maori material cultural history, the Maori were dismayed by the anthropological, historical and ethnological judgements of their cultural forms, and "considered [them] to be not just nonsense but academic invention."17
These misrepresentative conclusions are indicative of a continuation of Otherness at the hands of non-aboriginal researchers, who control the definitions of what makes an indigenous culture 'authentic.' As Deborah Doxtator claimed, it is not right that anyone should define someone else, tell them who they are and where they 'fit in'. You cannot do this to someone if you think of them as your equal. You cannot exert control over another person, another group of people unless you think of them as inferior and of yourself as superior.¹⁸

Due to the tight financial and physical restrictions set by the Canadian federal government upon aboriginal peoples up to the 1960s, their freedom of movement and rights to property and cultural uniqueness, First Nations peoples have had little or no "freedom or luxury" to conduct their own research.¹⁹ Therefore, up to the present, there has been little written to contradict the images of 'Indianness' which have been so predominant in non-Native research.

Non-Native researchers in North America have been ill-equipped to properly interpret First Nations histories, due to the extensive cultural differences. The tendency has been to decontextualise an object, which ethnologist Franz Boas claimed is unsuitable, since an isolated image is capable of holding multiple meanings and needs to be studied in its original setting. For example, Boas was indignant at the Smithsonian's Northwest Coast display in the late nineteenth century: angry that the Northwest Coast artifacts were "scattered in a dozen different topological exhibits," Boas felt the artifacts had lost the character of their creators. "In Boas's view," Douglas Cole states, "the meaning of an artifact could be understood only within the context of its surroundings, among the implements of the people to whom it belonged and with the other phenomenon of that people and their neighbors."²⁰ As mapped out in Chapter Two, within rock art research, images have been decontextualised due to the predominant methodology of description. A majority of studies have looked at the form of an image, and
compared it to similar items known to Western culture. Many publications provide hand-drawn reproductions of the petroglyphs and pictographs rather than photographs, as photographs often fail to pick up the fine details of the images. However, drawings do not include the images' locations; the importance of the setting is often overlooked in Western research, but is an important component of rock art. Additionally, Western scientific research is ill-equipped to decipher information of Other cultures and their spirituality and symbolism, as Europeans and Euro-North Americans have vastly different theologies and world views from First Nations, and have tended only to see matters historically in relation to themselves. Joan Vastokas warned that one must not presume to comprehend a rock art image simply because it looks familiar; certain images at Petroglyph Provincial Park in Peterborough, Ontario, hold a different meaning that the same image in Western culture. Garrick Mallery considered it an injustice to an image to assume one image holds one meaning, as similar rock art figures were developed and utilised within different 'primitive' and ancient societies, but each with different meanings. However, this has not deterred all researchers from adapting their methods to accommodate aboriginal sensibilities. According to Robert Layton, it is not uncommon for researchers, or "commentators," to be liable to interpret visual imagery unaided. Such a willingness probably derives from the assumption...that if carvings or pictures "look like what they depict" then they can be "read" by members of alien cultures....One cannot assume that the meanings certain art objects evoke in us, as foreigners, are those the artist intended. (emphasis Layton's)

These methods of research have also come under criticism from many First Nations peoples. For example, Blackfoot artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert warns that to isolate aboriginal material products in a descriptive manner robs them of their cultural significance: they are "lifeless without their function," and the dominant culture has no right to impose its sensibilities on Native images.
Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park has attempted to respect these oppositions to misrepresentations in interpretation by encouraging participation with the First Nations bands which have traditionally used the region for spiritual purposes, and acknowledging the significant role they have played in interpretation. Moreover, reliance on Western research techniques such as the written word has meant dismissing aboriginal oral input on the significance of rock art. As Vastokas suggests, the "methodological position that an authentic and valid art 'history' requires the support of written record...is no longer tenable."25 Despite the recent changes, though, the Western perspective continues to dominate research, despite opposition from indigenous groups.

'Indianness,' as delineated in Chapter Two, was used in rock art research as a method to avoid acknowledging any information provided by aboriginal peoples. In order to protect personal information, First Nations peoples in North America denied having any knowledge of pictograph and petroglyph sites. Because of 'primitiveness,' 'the Indian' as ignorant become an advantageous image for anthropologists. Today, as the interest in First Nations sites continues (and many non-Natives are turning to aboriginal religions for spiritual fulfillment), so does the protection: as William Tall Bull justified in 1992, aboriginal peoples "don't like to talk about these [sacred] places, because White people will go there and trash them."26 Additionally, the spiritual explanations provided by aboriginal peoples on the creation of rock art was also rejected by Euro-Canadian researchers. Hence, as indicated in Chapter Two, when the Blackfoot of the Western Plains stated that the rock art images of Writing-On-Stone were placed there by the spirits, many researchers concluded 'the Indian' was irrational and superstitious, believing in spirits and using them to predict his futures. For example, in the late-nineteenth century, Reverend John Maclean rejected the Native explanations that the numerous spirits of the area left the pictographs and
petroglyphs; instead, he based his conclusions on Western, Christian, monotheistic ideas that these 'spirits' did not exist:

'[t]hese stones are covered with figures, some of which the Indians say were written by the spirits, but the better interpretation given by many of the Indians is that war-parties of the Bloods and Piegans passing to and fro were in the habit of writing upon these rocks, stating the number of men and horses there were in the camps of their enemies. (emphasis mine)\textsuperscript{27}

'The Indian' as uncivilised and 'primitive' influenced researchers such as Maclean to believe that violence was prevalent in the Plains Native lifestyle, and preferred this interpretation over that of a more 'peaceful,' spiritual conclusion. Rather, Maclean favoured war and violence as more comprehensible to 'the Indian' lifestyle.

Part of the rejection of Amerindian spirituality, as Other to Western theology, meant that the traditional vision quests undergone by adolescents in order to communicate with a guardian spirit, were perceived as irrational by the federal government, as well as Christian assemblies. These traditions, as pointed out in Chapter Three, were classified as evil and banned by colonial forces, due to a lack of cross-cultural understanding of religious concepts. As Clifford Duncan, a Northern Ute, commented in 1996,

\[ \text{[a] lady once told me this: When you are talking to God, they call that praying. But when God talks to you, they call that schizophrenia. So the scientific meaning has changed people to where they don't believe. If it can't be proven, they say, it's not true. But Indian people who work with these symbols have to get away from that because for them it \textit{is} real, even if it has never been proven.}^{28} \]

Additionally, the role of the shaman as guardian of the health and welfare of the bands was also outlawed. Shape-shifting, communication with animals, and trances, components of shamanism, were viewed as primitive. Rock art, closely associated with shamanism as a method to record visions, became associated with interpretations of 'mysticism,' mysteriousness, and demonic power, interpretations which dominated rock art research into the twentieth century. The
danger of associating rock art with shamanism and mysticism is when these interpretations control research methods, and exclude any other potential conclusions. A case in point is P.S. Barry's research at Writing-On-Stone, which does not allow for any other potential reasons for the images except for shamanism. This type of interpretation is criticised by Janet Wolff as having previously determined its judgments, and then finding data to support the conclusions.29 Other researchers do not place such restrictions on rock art: Klaus Wellman has documented that some Northwest Coast petroglyphs, including those executed by Northwest Coast Native Jack Adams in the mid-twentieth century, were carved as a way of passing time, while waiting for the tide to drop.30 Also, Nlaka'pamux elder Annie York remarked in 1991 that the Stein Valley pictographs, in the British Columbia interior, represented legends or were directional.31 Unless these explanations are further attempts to protect sacred aboriginal information, these less 'mystical' interpretations, both provided by First Nations people, indicate that rock art had numerous roles, as spiritual guardian, as past-time, as personal expression, and as historic information.

In Chapter Three, my concern was with how images of 'Indianness,' prevalent in colonial dominion and Western research, in the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, art history, and ethnology, were inducted into tourism. Tourism can then be regarded as the continuation of colonial control, appropriating indigenous heritage sites into a nationalist canon. According to Cornelius Jaenen, barriers are comparable to the symbolic taking of a territory, acting similarly to erecting a cross or flag, or imposing a coat of arms, a proclamation that a new owner has staked a claim on the area.32 Where aboriginal heritage sites are the attraction, misrepresentations of indigenous cultures have continued in interpretation, such as in pamphlets and brochures, guided tours, and storyboards. My goal in Chapter Three was to study the
interpretation at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park to determine how it has dealt with the image of 'the Indian'; while the park has managed to deconstruct 'Indianness' in its brochures by presenting both Native and Euro-Canadian perspectives, its interpretation still retains elements of simplification and stereotypes. The question is, are these stereotypes which remain due to unawareness by park staff, or due to the restrictions inherent in tourism?

Since the general tourist has only a limited amount of vacation per year, and often makes several stops in different areas to see the most possible sites in the least possible time, heritage sites are not able to furnish excessive information, but only the basic facts, especially since many visitors prefer, as outlined in Chapter Three, to be entertained rather than educated. Still, parks attempt to continue the role of nineteenth-century museums, as educators; at Writing-On-Stone, Ron Hierath, MLA for Cardston-Taber-Warner, encouraged the growing educational role of the park, stating that additions such as an interpretive centre would "increase opportunities for visitors to see and learn more about the Park's archaeological and historical resources."34 In 1997, a series of enhancements were proposed by the Writing-On-Stone Management Plan, which includes a more efficient system of interpretation. Rather than the outdoor series of storyboards, an interpretive centre with an "internal exhibit, display and interpretation area," and office space for interpreters and park rangers would be built.35 Therefore inclement weather will not be an issue, and will enhance the park's role as an educational location, attracting more people. As it stands now, the storyboards are located near the naturalists' offices, but the naturalists are not always at the storyboards. If all is contained within a new building, the educational aspects will be better attained, as naturalists will be directly on hand, on the premises, to answer questions. Also, more delicate artifacts and more literature would be available, as right now, a protective
covering and a small information desk off the naturalists' offices are where brochures are kept.

The combination of leisure and "certainties," so crucial to Freeman Tilden in the 1950s, means that interpretation often leads to inaccuracies, which may be difficult to deconstruct. In order to attract tourists and keep their attention, interpretation may be simplified and one-sided. In Chapter Three I argued that interpretational information at popular heritage sites which promote 'primitivised' or romanticised theories may become more influential and 'authoritative' than recent scholarly conclusions. For example, Jean Clottes stated that even though it is largely discounted by modern rock art theorists, the explanation that the painted caves of Paleolithic Europe served as sites for hunting magic continues: "[i]t is still alive and well in popular consciousness. Occasionally, some guides in the decorated caves open to the public still propose it to visitors as an irrefutable explanation."36 This may be attributed to, as Kenneth Hudson indicated, the tourist's desire not to be confronted with a new, different interpretation.37 It may also indicate a more serious dilemma, that of the interpreter presenting their own personal theories, rather than 'objective' theories. Kevin Hetherington considers that

[...] heritage represents the desire to control through enclosure, as if by surrounding the stones in razor wire one could impose a single truth upon them, preserve them against the possibility that energy in the form of alternative truths might emanate from them.38

Therefore, with the limited amount of publications at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, mostly formal and descriptive information, added to Barry's shamanic interpretation, visitors may tie in 'Old World' Paleolithic meanings to rock art in North America. This magical interpretation has tended to attract 'New Age' groups, many of whom take a 'primitive' and destructive approach to sacred aboriginal locations.
Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park appears to have been able to balance the interests of the various tourists who visit the location. Not all visitors are interested in the historical significance of the pictographs and petroglyphs, so it is important to communicate with those tourists; as Tilden warned, the information should not be too difficult to comprehend, in order that it should not challenge anyone’s preconceptions. In addition, the authority of the cultural guardians, Spencer Crew and James Sims have stressed, be they museums or heritage sites, must be evident and unequivocal. Although Writing-On-Stone does not provide one sole explanation for the rock art, thereby not essentialising its significance to one role, there still exists the problem of isolation. The information provided in the brochures tends not to link contemporary First Nations people to those who utilised the Milk River region before and during the colonial period, thus in a sense robbing the Blackfoot and other First Nations who used the area of a modern role. The Blackfoot and other Plains Natives still continue to visit Writing-On-Stone as a spiritual site up to this day, and, despite missionary and government action, which has alienated the Blackfoot from Writing-On-Stone, "the fundamental role of the Milk River Valley as a sacred place remains intact."\textsuperscript{39}

This is illustrated by the works of Blackfoot artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert who has incorporated images of Writing-On-Stone into her paintings since the late 1970s,\textsuperscript{40} and demonstrates the continuing historical significance of the land. (Figure 23) Of her ancestors, Cardinal-Schubert stated "[w]e used pigment that has survived on rock faces for thousands of years, we had our own stone tablets - the mountains and cliff faces - where we recorded our history."\textsuperscript{41} This contradicts the image of 'the Indian' as 'dead,' that an 'authentic' First Nations individual is somehow distanced from his/her traditional culture. It also nullifies the idea that aboriginal cultures had no form of recording their histories besides orally.
However, more recent action, initiated after the issuing of the pamphlets, is the updated management plan for the park, which includes incorporating Blackfoot information and input about the park, greater freedom for Plains First Nations peoples to enter the park privately, and to perform personal and group ceremonies. Also, the adding of "Aisinaihpil," the traditional Blackfoot word for the area, indicates a change in tourism management from colonial domination to more culturally consolidated. While the integration of Native and Western cultures is a matter which can only have happened after years of deconstructing the stereotypes of 'Indianness,' it remains to be seen if sacred offerings which the First Nations leave in the restricted areas of the park are respected as private and ceremonial, or become part of the attraction, a new 'exotic' element for tourists to view. According to Michael M'Gonigle and Wendy Wickwire, rock art specialists of the British Columbia interior, as recently as 1988, the image of 'the Indian' as curiosity and commodity still penetrates the non-Native psyche, and "[s]adly, indigenous peoples have had to become very familiar with this state-of-mind [of the non-Native intruder] since in the age of the global newcomer Native peoples are simply another part of a primitive landscape to be developed."42

As Dean MacCannell has suggested, "[m]odern man has been condemned to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others."43 This makes Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park a prime location for this type of tourist who seeks an 'alternative,' 'authentic' experience. The area has remained largely untouched by technology. It is on a secondary highway, miles from the closest city, with few added modern facilities. The petroglyphs have been largely 'untouched,' not added to, for decades. Although outwardly unaltered, Chapter Three delineated that achieving 'authenticity' in tourism remains impossible, for, as Marianna Torgovnick, Duke University English
professor, stated, as soon as the West "got access to primitive artifacts, they lost their true meaning, their authenticity." In the 1990s, Amerindian cultures have become a source for spiritual 'authenticity' for numerous non-Natives, yet visiting Writing-On-Stone is a secular practice for many; travelling is done out of a sense of curiosity, of a personal desire to see a site. 'Authenticity' can be detrimental as it continues to be defined by non-aboriginals as cultures untouched by European influences, under the influence of what Valaskakis calls the "politics of primitivism," "a discourse which constructs what outsiders - and Indians - know about native people in representations of Indianness," and causes inequality and Otherness; it is inspired by the desire to preserve and protect 'purity' in the face of "destructive historical change," indicating the need by mainstream culture for 'the Indian' to remain part of an 'authentic,' romanticised culture of the past, distanced from modernity. Adding contemporary images ruins this 'authenticity' of a petroglyph or pictograph site as a source for spiritual escape; at Writing-On-Stone, therefore, the park administration attempts to keep sites 'authentic' despite that changes were traditionally expected by the Blackfoot. Therefore, they play the politics of primitivism.

It was also argued in Chapter Three that while contemporary non-Native interest in aboriginal cultures is destructive, it may also be what saves archaeological sites. Change is natural in all cultures, and an object's acquisition of a new meanings is normal. For example, Michael Ames believes that

objects live beyond their origins, and acquire new meanings, new uses, and new owners along the way. Contemporary civilization must be somehow able to relate to ancient artifacts, or there will be little reason to preserve them or display them. Given this fact, the object's/location's new role is to be a source of introspection, to determine how they are represented so modern society can learn about itself.

The issue becomes not to look at what the item traditionally signifies, but how modern society relates to it. Writing-On-Stone, with its 'unchanged,' 'primitive'
landscape, may be a source for those tourists seeking a pristine, pure location to which to escape from modernity. According to MacCannell, with the growing disenchantment of modernity, added to the rising interest in New Age philosophies, many non-aboriginal peoples are searching within Other cultures for spiritual fulfillment, including shamanism. It also plays havoc on aboriginal cultures: Valaskakis, critical of such classification, states that "the shamanistic adaptations of new age and philosophy with its White Warrior Society" is destructive to aboriginal sites. Because of a lack of complete understanding, many 'New Agers' actually desecrate First Nations sites, believing they have an inherent right to the locations and traditions of aboriginal peoples. So far, while Writing-On-Stone has been protected from any trespassing by destructive New Age spiritualists, many other Plains Native sacred sites, such as stone circles, has been damaged by over-enthusiastic "hobbyists."

The final 'conquest' of 'the Indian' in tourism may be taking a piece of his culture home, in the form of store bought souvenirs, which may be defined as the ultimate objectification act towards indigenous cultures. These mementoes tend to display 'the Indian' in a negative, 'primitive' manner, miniaturising and simplifying the peoples and their cultures to cheap, pocket-sized reproductions. According to Graburn, tourists purchase certain items based on their perception of authenticity. In Canada, this means miniature totem poles and 'harmless,' vulnerable 'Indian' children dolls, cute, mute, safe, and absolutely identical. Souvenirs may act, then, as a talisman. bell hooks proposes that longing to possess the reality of the Other, even though that reality is one that wounds and negates, is expressive of the desire to understand the mystery, to know intimately through imitation, as though such knowing worn like an amulet, a mask, will ward away the evil, the terror.

The images portrayed serve more than a stereotype or misunderstanding, but are a method of subduing aboriginal cultures through possession. With items sold at
Visions of the Past, in the Milk River region but not associated with Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, which does not maintain a souvenir shop, the tourist can purchase items such as t-shirts and hats with petroglyphic figures, thus directly possessing, and being part of, an 'authentic,' spiritual, 'primitive' figure. Through decontextualisation of multiple repetitions of a cultural icon, that image becomes commodified as the tourist's display of his/her adventurous travels and lifestyle.

The image of 'Indianness' has become so predominant since Confederation in Canada that it has historically entered the minds of the non-Native public through scientific research and tourism. Always, 'the Indian' has been what the majority population wished it to be. The federal government positioned 'the Indian' as Other in order to appropriate the land, by stressing that Euro-Canadians were better equipped to utilise the natural resources. During the period of post-Confederation population growth, when Euro-Canadians were said to be building the country, 'the Indian' was a source for identity; despite marginalising First Nations cultures, Native arts were appropriated as distinctive images of Canada. The negative images of 'Indianness' became validated in anthropological research, and entered the new discipline of rock art research in late-nineteenth-century Canada. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park on its own can be said to have deconstructed images of 'Indianness' popular in Canadian tourism since the late nineteenth century. The interpretation provided in brochures, storyboards, and guided tours, while limited due to the tourist's time frame, nonetheless is able to provide a balanced interpretation between natural, Native, and non-Native histories. However, given the few major publications specifically about Writing-On-Stone, save Barry's Mystical Themes in Milk River Rock Art, whose interpretation of the region as solely fulfilling a spiritual, shamanic role may denigrate First Nations cultures by portraying them as superstitious and irrational.
ENDNOTES


2 ibid., 248.

3 Geise.

4 Bennett, 133-34.

5 Renan, 11.


8 Geoffrey York, The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company), 59.


10 Coombes, Reinventing Africa, 47.


12 Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us: Native American Images of Tourists," 93.

13 Clottes, 64.


15 Klassen, 51.

16 Wagner, 8.

17 Kaeppler, 28.

18 Doxtator, Fluff and Feathers, 68.

19 Blair A. Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising," in Sweet Promises, 259.


21 Joan and Roman Vastokas 115.

22 Mallory, 28.


26 William Tall Bull quoted in Nikiforuk, 53.


28 Leslie Kelen and David Sucec, *Sacred Images: A Vision of Native American Rock Art*, Foreword by N. Scott Momaday (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1996), 94.

29 Wolff, 156, ft. 18.

30 Wellman, 37.

31 Annie Zetco York, "Rock Writing in the Stein Valley," in *They Write Their Dreams*, 65-220 passim.


33 Boas, quoted in Jackins, 86.


35 ibid.

36 Clottes, 28-29.

37 Mathieson and Wall, 71-72.

38 Hudson, 459.


40 Joane Cardinal-Schubert, *This is My History* (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.

41 Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," 24; McMaster and Martin in *Indigena* (130) have stated that by juxtaposing aboriginal pictographic images from Alberta, Cardinal-Schubert "sees her glyph paintings as a tangible means of ensuring that the images and messages brought to stone by her ancestors will be maintained for the appreciation of future generations."

43MacCannell, 41.


46Michael Ames, Museums, the Public and Anthropology (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 34.

47Valaskakis, 166. The New Age interest in Other, 'primitive' spirituality also impairs rock art research; according to Klassen (37), "the fashion of 'new age' shamanism" means that the "more recent attempt[s] at iconographical analysis" "suffer" from "poor methodology, numerous assumptions, and unsupported speculations."

Figure 1  Mishepishu-Pictograph from Agawa Rock, Lake Superior.
Figure 2  The Death of Jane McCrea, by John Vanderly. 1804.
Figure 3  Mah-Min or "The Feather. by Paul Kane c 1856
Figure 4  Photograph by Edward Curtis - "Day-Dreams - Peigan."
Figure 5 Petroglyph from Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park

Figure 6 Petroglyph from Petroglyph Provincial Park
Figures 7, 8  Human Figures from Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park
1700's and 1800's, this area was part of Blackfoot territory. They reacted to the strange landscape of Writing-on-Stone, as we do - with awe and wonder.

Stop 2 - The World Created by Náápi

The valley before you seems much too large for the small, meandering river which flows through it. Starting about 20,000 years ago, the glaciers of the last Ice Age began receding. Great volumes of meltwater, flowing to the south and east, carved down through the soft sandstone, creating the wide glacial spillway we see today. The relatively tiny Milk River, part of the Missouri-Mississippi drainage system, now follows the path of this huge glacial torrent. The Blackfoot believe the world was created by Old Man, or Náápi. The Milk River valley was just one of the many features he made in the first days, as he travelled across the plains. As Náápi went, he formed the landscape, and placed the plants and animals upon the ground. Then Náápi taught the first people how to use the things he created - food, medicine, clothing, tools were all provided by the land. Here, at Writing-On-Stone, the land remains much as Náápi created it.

Stop 3 - Summits of a Sacred World

Reaching an elevation of 2128m some 12km to the south, the Sweetgrass Hills of Montana tower above the surrounding prairies. About 48 million years ago, magma from inside the earth forced its way upwards, and then cooled into a huge dome of igneous rock, just beneath the surface. Millions of years of

Known to the Blackfoot as Kátoyissiksi, the Sweetgrass Hills, were another of Náápi's creations. The Blackfoot often used the tops of the hills to look for bison herds; much of the Blackfoot territory can be seen from their summits. A powerful presence in the centre of their world, the hills were sacred to the Blackfoot People. Young men often climbed the hills in order to undertake a vision quest - an important ritual fast which resulted in dreams of the spirit world.

Stop 4 - A Riverside Oasis

The Milk River constantly shifts its channel, first eroding sediments from the steep sided cutbanks, and then depositing them on sandbars on the inner sides of bends. When large floods blanket much of the valley bottom with mud, the "alluvial flats" visible across the river are created. A profusion of trees, shrubs and grass grow in this fertile mud, creating shelter for numerous birds and other animals. From here, mule deer are often seen browsing on riverside vegetation. Shelter from the wind, abundant wildlife, lush vegetation - all of these things drew native people to Writing-On-Stone. While hunting and gathering food, they often camped in this valley. Whenever the river flooded, it buried traces of these campsites beneath layers of mud. Today remains of campsites, bones, and artifacts such as arrow heads and pottery

Figure 9 "Hoodoo Interpretive Trail Pamphlet," Writing-On-Stone
THE BATTLE SCENE
The Battle Scene is one of the most elaborate rock art carvings found on the North American plains. It depicts a large force of warriors attacking an encampment of tipis, defended by a line of guns. Most of the attacking figures are on foot, but eleven horses are also shown, some dragging travois. On the left, a circle of tipis surrounds several groups of human figures. Note the small figures found inside the central tipi, and the two figures in the centre of the carving, one striking the other with a hatchet.

A PAGE FROM HISTORY
Both the gun and horse were introduced to the Northwestern Plains about the year 1730. The large number of guns and horses in this scene indicate that it was carved some time after this date. Although this petroglyph may depict any one of the many battles fought on the prairies during this time, evidence suggests that it may show a great battle between the Gros Ventre and Peigans, fought in 1866. A Peigan legend tells us that this carving appeared on the same day the Gros Ventre were about to attack a Peigan camp just east of Writing-On-Stone. Because of this warning, the Peigans were prepared for the attack, and overwhelmed the Gros Ventre during the ensuing battle.

Figure 10  "Battlescene" Pamphlet, Writing-On-Stone
Figures 11, 12, 13, 14

Human Figures in "Rock Art" Pamphlet," Writing-On-Stone
Figures 15, 16, 17  Animal Figures in "Rock Art" Pamphlet, Writing-On-Stone
Figure 18  Location of "The Battlescene" at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park.
Figure 19   Souvenir of 'Indianness'
Figure 20  Tourist Masks
Figure 21   Mug from Visions of the Past souvenir store
Figure 22  T-shirt from *Visions of the Past* souvenir store
Figure 23  Joane Cardinal Schubert, "The Earth is for Everyone," from This is My History
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